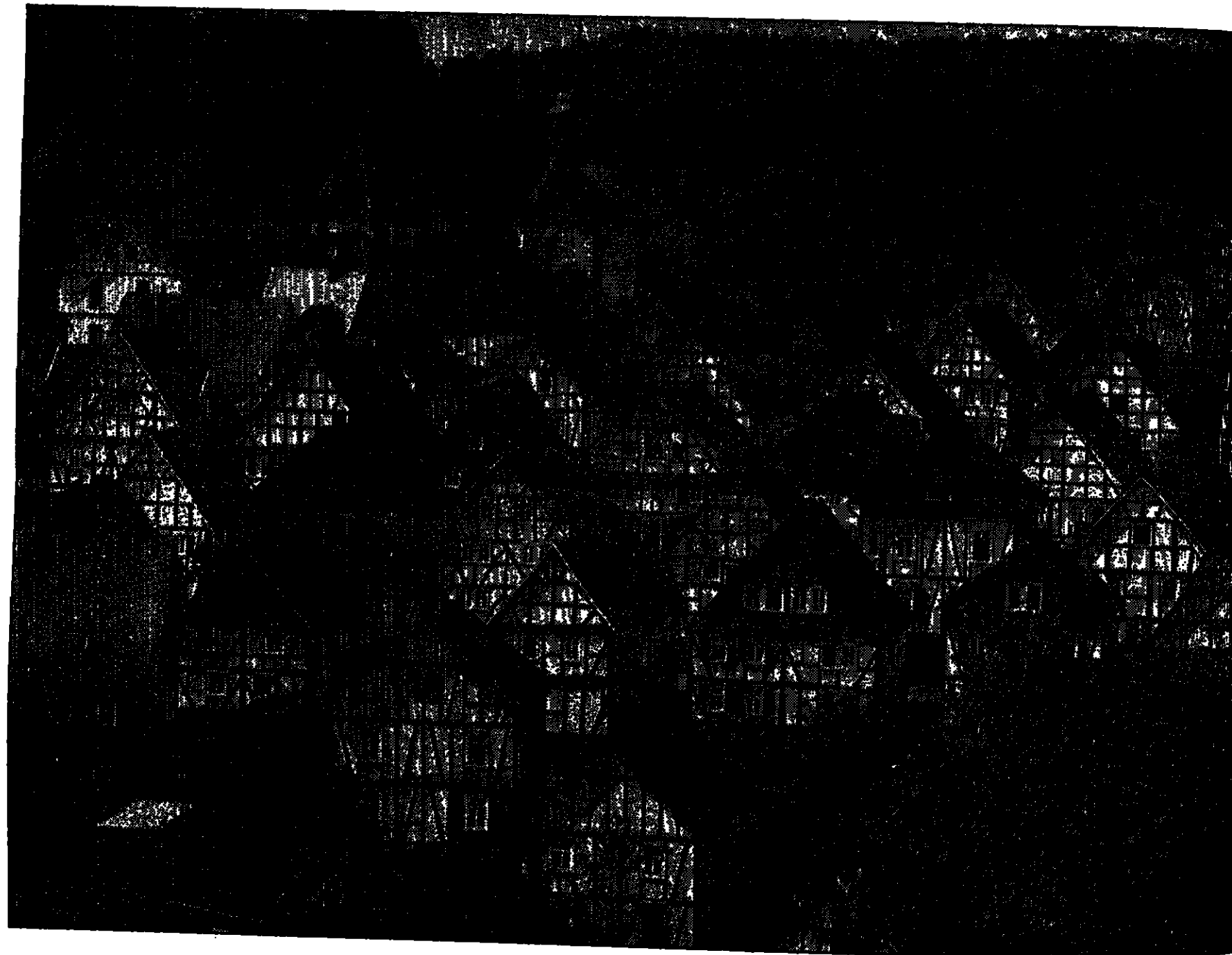


Germany's towns and cities

Let's take Bremen: both city and port where, however, in the Schnoor district, picturesque alleys, once the home of medieval craftsmen, and 500-year-old gabled houses are to be found. Or the small township of Münzenberg in Hesse, with its castle. Or Fritzlar, with half-timbered buildings, alcoves, fountains and lanes dating

from times when people still went on foot or rode in mail-coaches. Great cities, but also fairytale-like towns no larger than a football pitch. Then again, the modern aspect as in West Berlin's Märktisches Viertel or Hansa-Viertel, created by famous architects from all over the world. A journey through Germany's towns and

cities is like a study trip, exciting and amusing. Just think of all the restaurants offering special dishes and the many small taverns on nearly every corner!



Freudenberg
Berlin

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS E.V.
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt

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Kremlin chief comes to see how the land lies

ZEIT

before his 75th birthday Leo-
Breznev paid Bonn his third
visit in a decade. His previous
visits were in 1973 and 1978.

1973 he toured the city in
as a visionary, inviting the
to do business in Siberia.

they had at last accepted the
there were two Germanies he
the prospect of contracts that
generations.

Mr Brezhnev, an older and
man, sought support for his
Westpolitik.

Mid time round Bonn was the
Western capital to host the Soviet
while the Red Army invaded
East.

any respects Mr Brezhnev's Bonn
aimed at public opinion in the
as a whole, at Western govern-
and Western peace movements.

Mr's aging head of state and
leader went to the trouble of tra-
vel at this time of the year.
Is a sign of strength or weakness
Soviet Union's part?

Why was Bonn given the honour
of his presence? Was it its specific
firmly anchored, in the West? Or
Moscow, hoping Bonn might part
way with the West?

Federal Republic of Germany is
land where new medium-range
missiles are, by the terms of the De-
1979 Nato resolution, to be sta-
tioned in negotiations fail.

has also been manoeuvred into
a position by contradictory
policies from the Reagan administra-

more often the abstruse and se-
reconcilable pronouncements of
the House, the State Department
Pentagon worry and upset Wes-
Europe, the more often America's
partners in Brussels will look to
see how it assesses the situa-

in the military debate between
superpowers Bonn has assumed an
equal role as a result of the long
of Washington from world

Soviet Union is merely being true
conditions by double dealing with a
that has come to be the major
of both superpowers.

Kremlin would like Bonn both to
company with the United States
to forge Soviet links with Amer-
such a self-evident contradic-

tion that it leaves clear and obvious lea-
way for responsible activity, yet for
months opinion-makers in this country
have stirred up artificial hysteria.

Some commentators even feel calls
for peace and security jeopardise the
Western alliance.

The Cold War, *Frankfurter Allge-
meine Zeitung* sadly recalled, had at
least enabled people "to understand
what was being said and to think and
act accordingly."

Others feel Mr Brezhnev is alone in
worrying about peace being in danger
and, like Rudolf Augstein, the proprietor
of *Der Spiegel*, the Hamburg news
weekly, would like to see the West make
unilateral concessions as a token of good
will.

Bonn has benefited more than most
from the policy of detente, so much so
that it can no longer afford to make fur-
ther unilateral concessions.

A mere 13 years ago Bonn's non-ac-
ceptance of the GDR blocked talks with
Moscow and threatened to isolate the
Federal Republic in a West that was oth-
erwise predisposed towards detente.

Only a few years later none other
than Helmut Schmidt warned the
United States not to place inordinately
naive hopes in detente.

It was at the Munich conference on
military affairs in 1971. As Defence
Minister in Bonn he was critical of cuts
in US defence spending and the aboli-
tion of conscription.

Bonn's role increased in importance
as the Americans were steadily more
disappointed and the Russians proved
steadily more devious.

Moscow ruthlessly exploited each and
every weakness on Washington's part
but was caught, in the process, in a di-
lemma between regional and global
interests.

Yet the 1970 Moscow treaty with
Bonn proved more than equal to the
strain to which it was subjected, and
Berlin did not reappear among the
world's hot spots.

Bonn's moderating influence on in-
ternational affairs peaked in 1980, when
Helmut Schmidt's visit to Moscow got
the superpowers back on the speaking
terms.

Nato's deploy-and-negotiate resolu-
tion, previously an obstacle to talks, pro-
vided the first and so far only leverage
for negotiations. So far Bonn and its
ties with Moscow the comment made
by Mr Allen, Presi-
dent Reagan's na-
tional security advi-
ser, cannot be en-
dorsed. Detente, he
said, had been a
complete failure. In
the European view
such funeral dirges
merely bear out
what William Pfaff
wrote in the *Herald
Tribune*. Nato to-
day, he wrote, is
Continued on page 2



A lot to talk about ... Brezhnev and Schmidt in Bonn.
(Photo: Poly-Press)

Reagan deal strengthens Schmidt's hand

Nothing would be a greater mistake
than to imagine that President Re-
agan's disarmament proposals to the
Russians might change the world over-
night. There is certainly no way in which
they will alleviate European nuclear an-
xiety.

Yet the President's proposals, and his
declaration of readiness to reduce to zero
if possible the number of medium-range
missiles based by both sides in Europe,
mark a new quality in the security and
peace debate.

In the wake of a number of confusing
comments by high-ranking US officials,
including Mr Reagan himself, about a
nuclear warning shot or a limited nu-
clear strike an entirely different President
Reagan has emerged.

He has called on world opinion to
witness his commitment to disarmament
as his policy aim, and in so doing he
has done more than just clarify matters.

It is now up to Mr Brezhnev to say
what he really wants.
It is no surprise that Moscow has cho-
sen to dismiss the US offer with alacrity
as a mere propaganda trick and to in-
sist that the Americans want to es-
tablish nuclear supremacy by the back
door, as it were.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Trying to make the inner
city come to life again

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THE WELFARE STATE

Blamark gets bell rolling
and steals march on
socialists

Page 8

This is Kremlin strategy of the kind
with which we are all familiar, but it
would seem reasonable to assume that
Mr Brezhnev flew to Bonn with mixed
feelings as a result.
He already knew what President Rea-
gan had in mind from what the President
had previously proposed to him in writ-
ing. But now the world at large knew what
Mr Reagan had suggested and would be
expecting Mr Brezhnev to outline in de-
tail in his talks with Herr Schmidt what
he had to say in reply.
By virtue of President Reagan's pro-
posals Chancellor Schmidt was able to
enter into talks with the Soviet leader
greatly strengthened.
His hand was also strengthened in deal-
ing with fellow-Social Democrats and
non-SPD members of the peace move-
ment who saw disarmament salvation in
unilateral Western moves: a zero option
that would be nothing of the kind.
The zero option Washington and
Bonn have in mind would entail the
West abandoning missile modernisation
using new US devices on condition that
the Soviet Union scrapped its SS-20
missiles aimed at targets in Western Eu-
rope.
This, one is bound to admit, would be
an ideal solution it will be difficult to
accomplish. The Soviet Union envisages
a zero at an entirely different point.
Moscow would like at all cost to re-
tain the arms build-up it has already
undertaken, but at the Geneva confer-
ence table it will have to be cards down
at some stage or other.
In many ways the cards are already on
the table, with President Reagan having
led his highest trump. *Hans Stollhans*
(*Liberaler Nachrichten*, 20 November 1981)

If there were a war, no-one, neither the US President nor the Soviet head of

Gerd Schmückle
(Welt am Sonntag, 15. November 1981)

If it failed to do so, Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles would inevitably be deployed in Europe, a development that could only be forestalled by a swinging

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So it is not surprising that the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) now says "so far and no further."

It should be possible to economise elsewhere.

management it would serve as a positive signal.

Anton Hunger
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 November 1981)

The German Tribune

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HOME AFFAIRS

Runway issue raises basic questions

There is much more at stake than 500 acres of woodland near Frankfurt: that was made obvious from the television pictures of police acting against demonstrators opposed to a new runway for the international airport.

Television carried scenes that looked like civil war: policemen wielding batons against people already clubbed almost unconscious, people who a few moments before had thrown Molotov cocktails at the police.

What is at stake here is fundamental to a democratic society. It raises questions about the relationship between minority groups and the majority; and what means are appropriate in pursuing political aims.

There are two opposing camps: those who stress the legitimacy of the authorities' actions and those who deny this legitimacy.

The group favouring the additional runway argues: The decision-making process has been dragging on for one-and-a-half decades; the state parliament has approved the project and the courts have repeatedly upheld the decision.

Anybody who now yields to pressure from the street and to violence creates a dangerous precedent. In the end, it must become impossible to govern because a militant minority can always be found.

A state in which any mini-group can say "no" to a project and in which the government, notwithstanding its majority in the legislature, can no longer assert itself becomes ungovernable.

The opponents of the runway see it differently: in their view, purely formal legalities suppress justice in Frankfurt.

They regard the expansion of the airport as a crime against the environment ("mother nature is being killed by father state").

The runway has thus become the symbol of resistance against an all-powerful technology — resistance that turns into a rebellion against the state of law and order. This state is simply labelled a "police state" which the opponents of the runway threaten with an "ecological civil war." They are bent on making Frankfurt airport a precedent for the republic as a whole.

Neither of the two camps is free of blame. True, the Hesse government can fall back on the legislators' decision and on court rulings. It has legality on its side.

But did the government adequately take into account that public consciousness has changed in the past years? Has it really done everything to inform and convince the public — as for instance through a large public hearing along the lines of the Gorleben hearing?

Do the members and followers of the government not too obviously have doubts about the correctness of their decision (and perhaps even a bad conscience) to permit them now to adopt an unyielding attitude of self-righteousness?

Above all: Holger Börner's government has created the impression — even among his followers — that he wants to put the public before a fait accompli before the one constitutional possibility, i.e. a referendum, has run its course.

Why? Either the people vote in favour of the government (and 60 per cent are said to be in favour of the additional runway) or they don't. If they do, a delay

of a few months would hardly matter and Börner could face the public with the mandate of the people behind him. This would enable him to go ahead even if this entailed using the full clout of the government.

Should the referendum go against him, the concrete fence around the site would have been erected for nothing and the woods would have been chopped down to no purpose.

But the way things stand it appears as if the opponents are to be denied their constitutional right; and this in turn casts a poor light on our democracy.

Of course, the opponents of the runway are not without blame either. The Wiesbaden demonstration and the handing over of 220,000 signatures in favour of a referendum was democracy in an exemplary fashion. But the ultimatum to the government, the call for a blockade of the airport and the squatting on the nearby motorway demonstrate the hubris of zealots carried away by the fact that they have managed to rally hundreds of thousands of people.

The experience of mass power has evidently led them into believing that they speak for the majority and into taking the law into their own hands.

If a civil servant were to do the same, he would be faced with a public prosecutor's action — as has happened in Frankfurt.

The late realisation on the part of the citizens' initiative that its action has got out of hand cannot undo the riots and the bloodshed in their wake.

So what now? The most important thing is to defuse the situation. The conflict must be prevented from escalating into a civil war. The Wiesbaden government could, for instance, desist from using legalities to stop the referendum; and it could suspend the cutting down of the woods and commencement of construction until the people have had their say.

In return, the opponents of the runway could undertake to suspend demonstrations pending a final outcome. Those who nevertheless take to the streets to riot would then forfeit the right to be treated with kid gloves.

Pending the referendum, there should be an all-out dialogue and information campaign, but no confrontation.

Both sides should undertake to abide by the referendum — regardless of its outcome.

DIE ZEIT

In the final analysis, upholding the constitution is more important than any decision on a specific issue, and there is a point when the full power of authority may be used to safeguard this constitutional order.

Law and justice are not what the most vociferous of rioters would have us believe. They express themselves in the consensus of the majority, although minorities must have their chance to influence the course of things.

It is the duty of politicians to implement the majority decision even if this does not suit their concept — and not only in committee meetings and the corridors of power but also in full view of the public.

In a democracy, the authority of law needs the backing of the citizens. And the use of force is no way of achieving this. And this goes for both the power of the state and that of its critics.

Theo Sommer
(Die Zeit, 20 November 1981)

City is divided as youth club case comes to court



Ten people are being tried on charges of disturbing the peace in Nuremberg.

The charges arise out of incidents on the evening of March 5 and the following morning.

First there was a demonstration against the proposed closure of a youth club known as Komm, during which DM20,000 of damage was caused, mostly to shop windows and car aerials.

Police then raided the club and arrested 172. Some were quickly released but 141 were detained on warrant, some for days, on the ground that they might remove evidence and disappear.

The whole affair is an emotional one and has split the city of Nuremberg into two camps.

Most of the population supports the police action.

But there is a big minority which talks about a scandal. It argues that the mass arrests were out of proportion to the damage and says that many of those held were unconnected with the demonstration.

Subsequently, proceedings against 59 were dropped.

A seemingly unimportant incident shows how unsuited Nuremberg, a provincial metropolis, is for such a trial that could become a precedent case: court room 619 that has been chosen for the trial can accommodate only 75 spectators, and 30 of these seats have been allocated to journalists from all parts of the country.

It is obvious that the courtroom will be crowded to capacity; and even the parents of the accused might find themselves without a seat. Says the mother of one of them: "We'll have to queue up at the crack of dawn — and even then we'll be lucky if we get in."

The parents have demanded that the trial be held in room 600, which is larger and would accommodate more spectators.

But the court has rejected this for understandable reasons: this is the room where the Nuremberg war crimes trials were held, and nobody wants to create a link between a simple trial for disturbing the peace and war crimes.

Only three days before the trial was due to begin a citizens' action group calling itself "Citizens' Initiative 5 March for Basic Rights and Democracy" organised a rally that was attended by 600.

They carried placards that clearly showed that the ultimate objective was more than just justice for the accused. Some of the placards read: "It is the right to demonstrate that is on trial."

Another, more aggressive slogan read: "We cannot force the pigs to tell the truth; but we can force them to lie even more brazenly."

A police officer said this was defamatory and demanded the removal of the placard.

Eye witness reports are conflicting, policemen say, that the objectionable placard was rolled up. But the citizens' initiative says that an agreement had been reached with the police to cut out the word "pigs" and that this was done.

Half an hour later, a group of policemen seized the carrier of the placard and took him to police headquarters.

The demonstrators split and a group of about 150 to 200 marched to the station where they demanded his release.

A head-on clash seemed imminent, but eventually the situation calmed down. The very beginning, this had been the basic idea of development aid, to add constructive cooperation between the industrial nations, Opec and developing countries was the most important task in international politics.

Matthöfer told the 36th International Congress of the Junior Chamber (Jaycees International).

During the same period, incomes in the poor developing countries rose by only US\$70 (from US\$180 to US\$250).

Herr Matthöfer named the following most important tasks:

- Basic needs like food, clothing, shelter and health care must be ensured for all;

- The dependence of the developing countries on expensive imported oil must be reduced through new sources of energy; and

- The natural ecosystems must be preserved and growing erosion — especially desert encroachment — must be stopped.

One of the great problems, the Minister said, was to achieve unity on the strategy to be used in the pursuit of these aims.

After 30 years of development policy, it is becoming obvious that "the developing countries must make use of their own potentials rather than expecting development to be injected from outside in the form of capital, education and technology."

In a moment of self-criticism, the Finance Minister added that the volume of public sector development aid was still inadequate, saying "... and I expressly include the Federal Republic of Germany." By the same token, he pointed out that:

- Development aid spending in this country continues to rise disproportionately to other budget items;

- The Federal Republic of Germany is the most important donor country for

the 30 or so poorest developing countries; and

- It is earnestly trying to provide aid in a form that would best serve the interests of the recipient countries.

Herr Matthöfer said that what mattered was to strengthen the developing countries' own sense of responsibility and to remove obstacles to development such as religious taboos, waste, corruption, exploitation and human rights violations.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the Standing Conference of German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that new accents and priorities were needed in the North-South dialogue.

Like Matthöfer, he warned of a "pointless hardening of the North-South front" which, in the past had led the world up a blind alley.

Neither the one-sided demands of many developing countries nor the defensive strategy of the industrial nations had led to a breakthrough so far, he said.

Von Amerongen called for a close cooperation between the emerging national economies of the Third World and international organisations aimed at creating a broad and reliable framework for development.

But providing open markets for the goods of the Third World was more than just removing tariff and administrative barriers, he said.

To achieve this, the Third World would have to improve its production facilities and establish export companies. Moreover, foreign investment alone is no cure-all in the bid for industrial progress.

The 4,800 Jaycees from 90 different countries who gathered to discuss problems of the world economy made this the biggest and most international congress of its kind ever to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Heinz Heck/Peter Weertz
(Die Welt, 11 November 1981)

Pessimism in the Ruhr

The mood of the Ruhr area business community has reached an all-time low, say the region's chambers of commerce and industry.

The recovery forecast for the autumn did not happen.

Only one year ago last autumn, 20 per cent of the businessmen assessed the situation as bad, says the chamber's autumn survey. By the spring of this year that had risen to 34 per cent. Now it is 44 per cent.

The 1,225 businesses that were included in the survey gave the following reasons for the continuing decline: rising costs, high interest rates, declining profits, falling domestic demand and months of contradictory discussions on the rehabilitation of public sector finances and the removal of obstacles to investment.

But the survey also shows that there were improvements in our foreign trade — primarily due to exchange rate changes.

This has enabled the Ruhr area business community to improve its competitiveness.

But the 23 per cent export quota in the manufacturing industry is not enough to buttress a sagging business performance.

The various branches of industry differed widely in their assessment of the situation. The evaluation of the basic materials and capital goods industry was particularly negative. Here, more than two-thirds of the respondents described their situation as "poor".

H. Baumann
(Die Welt, 13 November 1981)

FINANCE

'Self help the key' for developing countries

Developing countries must make use of their own potential rather than expecting development from outside, Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer said in Berlin.

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Tight rein on investment

Investors will be restrained next year, says the economic outlook, says the Institute for Economic Research.

Through the Institute's latest survey of investment for next year, a decrease of four per cent is expected, adjusted for inflation.

The actual investment volume in 1982 is expected to be four per cent lower.

This means that the decline will not be as massive. And should economic conditions improve markedly in the next months it is even possible that investment plans will be reviewed and volume upped.

Investment as the ultimate objective of investment is gaining in importance. The motivating elements here are technological developments and the energy crisis.

Plans for next year, says the Institute, are hardly any expansion.

Nuremberg were legal or even constitutional.

Yet many newspapers wrote that the Constitutional Court justices had upheld the 141 arrest warrants.

Commented the mother of one of the accused: "All I could think when I read that was: that's the end. It's frightful to live in constant fear that one's son will take these newspaper reports too seriously."

Dr Erich Küchenhoff, professor of administrative law, warns of such "horror stories," saying that the Constitutional Court itself was outraged at this interpretation and that it had followed the original statement with a press release to put an end to false interpretations. — a unique action for the Court to take.

Still, the mood among those in the dock is depressing. Too often and too frequently has it been said in the few months that it is the judiciary that is in the dock in Nuremberg.

Judges and public prosecutors are no longer back down and are doing their job. An 'admittal' would be a defeat.

Friedrich
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 November 1981)

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Commented the mother of one of the accused: "All I could think when I read that was: that's the end. It's frightful to live in constant fear that one's son will take these newspaper reports too seriously."

Dr Erich Küchenhoff, professor of administrative law, warns of such "horror stories," saying that the Constitutional Court itself was outraged at this interpretation and that it had followed the original statement with a press release to put an end to false interpretations. — a unique action for the Court to take.

Still, the mood among those in the dock is depressing. Too often and too frequently has it been said in the few months that it is the judiciary that is in the dock in Nuremberg.

Judges and public prosecutors are no longer back down and are doing their job. An 'admittal' would be a defeat.

Friedrich
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 November 1981)

Finance

Developing countries must make use of their own potential rather than expecting development from outside, Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer said in Berlin.

During the same period, incomes in the poor developing countries rose by only US\$70 (from US\$180 to US\$250).

Herr Matthöfer named the following most important tasks:

- Basic needs like food, clothing, shelter and health care must be ensured for all;

- The dependence of the developing countries on expensive imported oil must be reduced through new sources of energy; and

- The natural ecosystems must be preserved and growing erosion — especially desert encroachment — must be stopped.

One of the great problems, the Minister said, was to achieve unity on the strategy to be used in the pursuit of these aims.

After 30 years of development policy, it is becoming obvious that "the developing countries must make use of their own potentials rather than expecting development to be injected from outside in the form of capital, education and technology."

In a moment of self-criticism, the Finance Minister added that the volume of public sector development aid was still inadequate, saying "... and I expressly include the Federal Republic of Germany." By the same token, he pointed out that:

- Development aid spending in this country continues to rise disproportionately to other budget items;

■ INDUSTRY

Textile workers protest as jobs vanish by the thousand

About 25,000 textile workers took part in a rally in Bonn to draw attention to their industry's plight.

It is likely that by the end of the year, there will be 70,000 fewer workers in the industry than at the end of last year.

A secretary of the textiles and clothing workers union, Alfred Hänel, says: "Imagine the hue and cry if 70,000 steel workers were sacked at one fell swoop."

There is no doubt that there would be an uproar.

The loss of 70,000 jobs in iron and steel would mean, for instance, a total shutdown in the Saar, which has 38,000 steelworkers, and the closure of Hoesch in Dortmund too, with its 21,000 jobs.

Alternatively Thyssen, a leading manufacturer, Peine Salzgitter, a state-owned company, and Klöckner — all large companies — would have to go to the wall.

Yet will there be a hue and cry over the 70,000 textile jobs? No.

The reasons are easily outlined. The 200,000-odd steelworkers are employed by about a dozen large companies and represented by the largest trade union in the country.

The half a million textiles and clothing workers are employed by well over 5,000 small firms and backed by a much smaller union.

This year Bonn has promised the steel industry DM1.8bn in subsidies to prevent mass redundancies.

Management and staff of the textile industry, in contrast, have been told by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff how wonderful the free market economy is.

Berthold Keller, general secretary of the 300,000-strong textile workers union, has arranged for the protest in Bonn.

It was not the first time they had drawn attention to their plight. Factory

'Gatt agreement has failed to protect home industry'

meetings, platform debates and local protest gatherings have been held since September to get the message across to local and state politicians and Bonn MPs.

Letters and personal visits have been written and paid to persuade political leaders in Bonn that something must be done to improve matters.

A year ago a one-hour token strike was held to draw attention to the plight of weavers and spinners, tailors, cutters and finishers.

So far the cumulative effect of all these moves has been most unsatisfactory as far as union officials are concerned.

The Bonn rally will be the climax for the time being of the trade union's campaign for job security in textiles and clothing. It coincides with the Geneva Gatt talks on a new international textiles agreement.

The outcome of the renegotiations will be of crucial importance for the future of the domestic industry and its workers.

The current international textiles agreement, regulating the trade in textiles and clothing between developing and industrialised countries, runs out at



the end of this year. It will have been in force for four years.

While generally upholding the principle of free world trade in textiles it imposed quotas on a number of sensitive products.

Twenty-eight developing countries that signed the agreement were affected by them. They include Hong Kong, India, China, Yugoslavia, Poland, Singapore and the Philippines.

They are allotted export quotas for their trade in the scheduled products, while the European Community countries are allotted import quotas for them.

The outgoing agreement included an average annual growth rate of six per cent for the exporting countries.

The German union says the agreement has failed, by any stretch of the imagination, to live up to its original purpose, which was to protect home industry.

So the union's demands are not only for a new agreement to be negotiated but also for substantially improved terms, such as quota growth rates of one-and-a-half per cent per annum.

In the industrialised countries, it argues, growth rates in the consumption of textiles and clothing have been negligible for years.

It would also like to see terms renegotiated not for four years but for ten. This would ensure for the industry a reasonable safety margin within which to reach investment decisions, it feels.

The union would not like to be accused of opposing the developing countries, so it has called for a distinction to be drawn between industrialised developing countries and bona fide developing countries.

It has a point. Fifty-five per cent of textiles and 75 per cent of clothing imported come from one of the four textile giants in the developing world: Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and Macao.

The agreement ought also to include minimum welfare provisions for workers in the industry, provisions that are to apply worldwide.

This, the union argues, would appreciably stem the tide of cut-price textiles.

In its fight to save jobs in the domestic industry the trade union is not alone. The management are with it all the way. It is an entire industry's fight for survival.

Both agree in their assessment of the situation. Both have paid the price of free world trade, and it has been a heavy one for all concerned.

Since the mid-60s the textiles and clothing industry has steadily lost ground, and the trend continues unabated. In 1962 there were 4,381 textiles companies with a payroll of nearly 590,000.

Numbers have since declined almost uninterruptedly. At the end of last year only 2,249 companies were left. Their combined turnover was DM33bn, their payroll a mere 304,000.

In 1966 there were still 406,000 peo-

ple employed by nearly 5,630 clothing manufacturers. By the end of last year only 3,210 were left. Their turnover was DM20.7bn, their payroll 249,000.

In the 70s alone the number of both companies and people working for them in both industries declined by nearly 40 per cent.

Textiles and clothing companies have traditionally been based in areas where there was not much industry and every job counted.

Along the GDR border and in Upper Franconia, the Lower Rhine, the countryside between Münster and the Dutch border, the Bavarian forest and the Swabian Alb regions unemployment is a constant problem.

Well over half the textile and clothing workers are women, and the union suspects that import policies for textiles are pursued without inhibitions because jobs for women are not felt to matter.

The increasing glut of cheap textiles imported have obviously contributed towards the industry's plight.

In the course of the 70s imports increased in value from DM8.7bn to

'It is felt that women's jobs do not matter'

DM25.8bn, or nearly trebled. Exports merely doubled in value, from DM7bn to DM16.3bn.

The surplus of imports over exports more than quadrupled to DM9.5bn.

Yet the Federal Republic of Germany has not only proved a receptive market in which free trade prevailed; domestic manufacturers have also proved competitive internationally.

In both imports and exports the Germans lead the world. On the import side they are ahead of both the United States and France. In exports they have run rings round Italy and France, both countries renowned for their fashions.

Despite this hue and cry over the Geneva talks it must be borne in mind that in textiles the industrialised countries do most business with each other.

For years the major customers of German clothing and textiles manufacturers have been the Dutch, French and Austrians.

For years the Italians, French, Belgians and Dutch were Germany's major suppliers. But the ratings changed markedly in the 70s.

Among countries that export to Germany, Italy and France are now followed by Hong Kong, while Greece is sixth, Yugoslavia tenth and Yugoslavia eleventh.

In many parts of the market imports have long been essential. Tee shirts, for instance, are no longer manufactured in Germany.

Imports account for 93 per cent of underwear and lingerie sold in Germany, while 97 per cent of the country's anoraks were made up abroad.

About 85 per cent of rainwear is imported, as is every other dress and costume, not to mention 90 per cent of men's shirts and 70 per cent of blouses and trousers.

Domestic textiles and clothing companies do much of the importing, by eliminating home jobs, as they dilly concede, although no-one is sure of the figures.

Helmut Wienholt of the Retail Importers Association says 45 per cent of imported finished products are imported by home industry.

So both unions and employers allegeations of in any way advocating protectionism. They feel, indeed, that as pure as the driven snow world where everyone else has a lead towards protectionism.

Many threshold countries have done off domestic markets by imposing virtually insuperable tariff barriers. The offenders here range from Brazil to South Korea.

Even within the European Community not all member-countries are fair. The EEC Council of Ministers says Bonn far exceeds its 28.5 per cent share of Common Market clothing textile imports, whilst others take care not to do so.

Germany makes up over 36 per cent of the EEC's total, whereas France, at 13.4 per cent, is five per cent below quota. Britain too, with an allocation of 23.5 per cent, has managed to curb its imports to 18.3 per cent.

In France and Italy the state has ways lent a helping hand to the industry, for which both have traditional been renowned.

German representatives at the EEC certainly seem to have failed to convince the others of the benefits to be derived from unfettered trade.

The attitude taken by Count Lambsdorff is diametrically opposed to the viewpoint held by his French counterpart, and this failure to agree has condemned the Common Market Council to inactivity in Geneva.

They are bound by the terms of the Treaty of Rome to speak with one voice and if unable to arrive at a common denominator have no choice but to do nothing at all, which is hardly likely to improve their position at the Geneva talks.

Count Lambsdorff is in favour of continuing with the terms of the outgoing agreement, where as his colleagues in Britain, France, Italy and Belgium would like to negotiate cutbacks.

Their aim is to persuade the conference to reduce their import quotas to the trends in consumer demand.

A compromise now seems possible. It would be continuation of the old agree-

'German failure to put over free-trade argument'

ment followed by bilateral agreements with exporting countries on import restrictions.

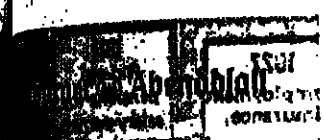
For both the union and the employers in Germany this is anything but a most satisfactory solution. Hardly any of the demands they share can be met by bilateral talks.

So the union is already thinking in terms of its next rally but one.

"If the EEC Council of Ministers agrees on a viewpoint that is too far removed from the trade union position," says Herr Hänel, "there will be a gathering in Brussels attended by representatives of textile workers unions all over Europe."

■ BUSINESS

Mixed feelings over new AEG rescue



by experience, the staff of AEG received the news of the rescue action by a consortium of banks with mixed feelings.

In favourable forecasts, the penicillin rescue operation in 1979 was followed by 20,000 redundancies in the second largest electrical con-

Council Chairman Hans Rathenau has become used in a few years to negative forecasts and positive ones only half as good at best. So the management have to pull up its socks if it is to keep the staff.

Rathenau also stresses that the rescue of the banks will guarantee the survival of the concern for only a few years.

In 1983, AEG, whose balance sheet stood with a loss five times since 1979, is expected to stand on its own feet

as a lovely birthday gift to Germany, which, in 1983, will celebrate its 100th anniversary. But this is a very long way from the reality of the company.

One of AEG's strengths lay in the manufacture of streetcars; and even before the turn of the century the company was instrumental in developing the tram network of Nuremberg, Lübeck, Leipzig, Kiel, Danzig, Plauen, Königsberg, Altenburg, Spandau and Oslo.

The 1930s were boom years, with the company venturing into new technical territory, and in the 1960s it earned its last pioneering laurels by inventing the PAL territory television system.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Possessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

Biggest problem for Dürr clearly is the home appliances sector. His line of action there is becoming discredited: production will include appliances that can be mass-

produced in a triplicate solution in the German steel industry.

Rohwedder confirmed that a link-up with Krupp's Stahl AG had priority for Hoesch and that talks at the Bonn Finance Ministry on subsidies for a new German steel merger will begin on 23 November.

This means that objectives have to be agreed upon before the end of the year though many details might remain open.

Mainly, Rohwedder said, the Hoesch-Dürr merger is a fait accompli. It is a complete evaluation as yet but it was obvious that it is impossible to finance the whole of Krupp's steel plant.

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The next (third) round of talks between Hoesch, Krupp and Dürr is expected to take place in the next few days.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1981)

Naturally, all of these measures will mean further redundancies. But some of the laid off staff might find jobs with future AEG partners.

It is obvious that the staff have every reason to worry. Dürr is the only person involved who is always optimistic.

When Emil Rathenau founded the company in 1883, it was called German Edison Co. and manufactured light bulbs.

Rathenau, the son of a Berlin businessman, studied engineering in Zurich and earned his first money as a draftsman at the Borsig Co.

But light bulbs did not fulfil Rathenau and, in 1887, he renamed his company Allgemeine Electricitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) — a company to which Germany subsequently owed a great deal on its road to becoming an industrial nation.

AEG's products ranged from ship's propulsion via locomotives and streetcars all the way to heating appliances, telephone cables and wireless telegraphy.

The company was a pioneer in the electrification drive for Germany; and power stations which AEG built in China around the turn of the century are still fully operational.

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Big steel deal pops at the rivets

But it has not yet been decided whether Hoesch will enter into another steel merger with a German company, Rohwedder told the meeting.

Krupp, however, is reluctant to burden a new steel merger with problems that would arise from any solution involving a foreign company.

The Hoesch-Dürr merger is a fait accompli. It is a complete evaluation as yet but it was obvious that it is impossible to finance the whole of Krupp's steel plant.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1981)



Chief executive Heinz Dürr... the lonely optimist. (Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

It was under him that the former classical maker of capital goods became topheavy on the consumer goods side. This was particularly dangerous because good quality vacuum cleaners or heating appliances can also be made by low wage countries. But this was not all.

AEG had a hard time getting off the ground again after war's end. Unlike its main competitor, Siemens, the end of the war saw AEG with a mere 10 per cent of its production facilities.

Nine factories in East Berlin and the GDR were lost, and the company had to write off assets worth one billion reichsmarks.

All that remained for the company in the West was the factories in Nuremberg, Stuttgart and Mülheim/Ruhr.

The new start had to be financed by borrowing and the company now finds itself saddled with a debt burden of DM5.6bn.

Post-1945 sales grew fairly steadily but profits — even in good years — lagged behind those of Siemens.

Things were different in the company's first 50 years. For instance, between 1894 and 1900 the payroll quintupled, and AEG's 17,000 workers accounted for a business volume of 100m marks. Sales rose sixfold in as many years.

There was no such steep rise after World War II. In fact, it is eight years since AEG paid its 110,000 stockholders a measly dividend of five per cent. Ever since, they have wound up empty-handed.

Burkhard Salchow (Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1981)

advantages of a tripartite solution in the German steel industry.

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(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1981)

No change in Siemens' dividend

Considering the company's poor performance, Siemens should have reduced its latest dividend payment. But the management was reluctant to broadcast its weakness and decided to pay the same dividend it had been paying for years: DM8 per share.

But the money had to come from somewhere, and in this instance it was the open reserves that were pared down. The dividend was maintained for the sake of the company's international standing and reputation.

But the problems are there for all to see.

It became evident in the summer that profits, which had been declining for years, had arrived at the modest level of 1.5 per cent.

Naturally, this led to speculation that Siemens' star was waning and one magazine came up with the headline "The giant that overslept".

The stock market, with its unerring nose, responded promptly.

There was a time when no portfolio was considered complete without Siemens, the bluest of blue chips. This was due, among other things, to the traditionally high regard in which the Siemens management was held as a paragon of soundness and continuity.

But as soon as the first tremors reached the market, Siemens stock began to drop. At the beginning of this year, shares were still quoted at DM269. Now they have dropped to DM200.

There are essentially two key areas that account for the diminished profits: data processing and plant components are in the red to the tune of half a billion.

After the unavoidable teething problems, data processing seemed to be approaching the point where it would break even. But here Siemens had to compete with the American giant IBM — a formidable task.

In the plant components sector things looked promising to start with. The company's policy was directed at growth and acquisition.

All went well until the general state of the economy thwarted plans.

Due to the world-wide economic decline, the plant components sector found itself in straits. Massive undercutting by foreign competitors led to considerable losses and forecasts now have to be reviewed. Siemens is trying to remedy the situation by adopting streamlining and reorganising. It could be said that nobody can fight the general economic doldrums. But there is more to it. The public suddenly learned of friction among the top echelon of Siemens.

Rebuffed in the data processing sector went off relatively smoothly, but the replacement of the head of the plant components division caused a considerable stir. The company's policy was directed at growth and acquisition.

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(Münchener Morgen, 13 November 1981)

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Bismarck gets ball rolling and steals march on socialists

1881 is generally taken as the year in which the groundwork was laid in Germany for the system of comprehensive social security. On 17 November Chancellor Bismarck read out the Reichstag an Imperial proclamation in which Kaiser Wilhelm announced his intention of making insurance provision for old age, ill-health and industrial injury.

Social security in Germany could, in a nutshell, be said to have been introduced by Bismarck in a bid to outflank the Socialists, banned since 1878.

It all began a century ago when the Imperial proclamation that has gone down in German history as the magna carta of social security was read out to the Reichstag.

The proclamation said that working men had a legal right to assistance in the event of sickness, industrial injury and disability and to a pension in old age.

Insurance societies were to be set up as cooperatives on the basis of mutual assistance and self-administration.

The view that a man unable to work (and his family) ought not to be left to their fate goes back millennia, to Ancient Greece and Rome, to early Christianity and the Middle Ages.

But the medieval Poor Law broke down in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. It was replaced by mutual assistance arrangements made by crafts and guilds.

They too proved insufficient when, from the mid-19th century, the indus-

trial revolution changed the face of Germany, taking millions of industrial workers into overcrowded and unhygienic cities.

Business boomed in the Reich after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, but a recession that lasted from 1873 to 1896 led to domestic unrest.

The poor grew ever poorer and mutual assistance societies ought, it was suggested, to be transformed into a comprehensive system of government-supervised social security.

Chancellor Bismarck saw plans for a uniform accident, health insurance and pension scheme as a welcome opportunity of undermining the growing popularity of the Socialists.

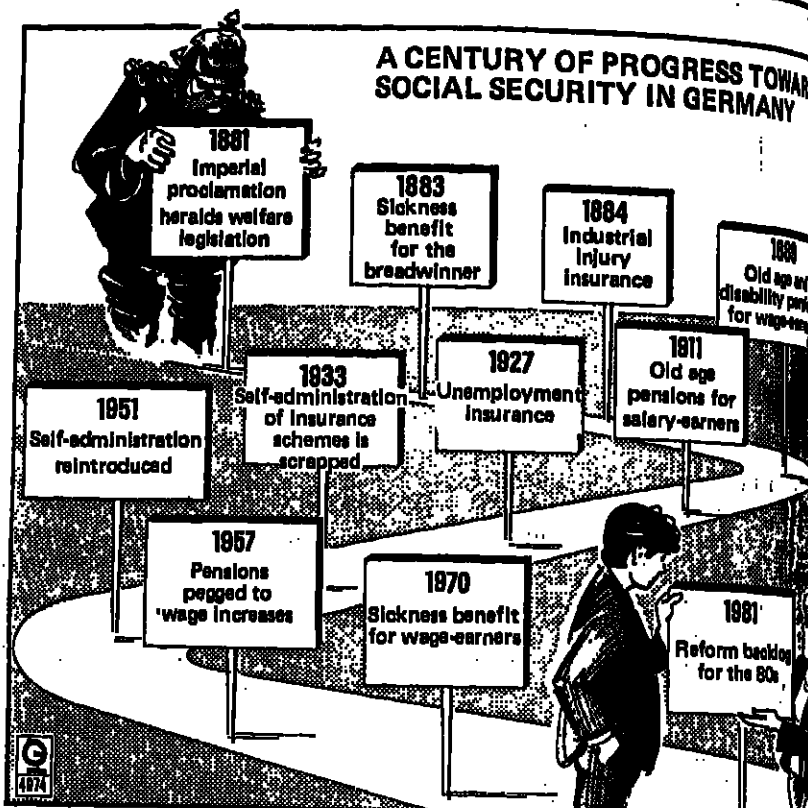
The first comprehensive health insurance scheme took effect in December 1884. Insured persons were entitled to free medical treatment and up to 13 weeks sickness benefit.

The scheme was run by any number of local, works and other insurance societies. The medical profession was not enamoured of it.

Doctors earned only between 80 pfennigs and a mark per consultation and treatment, whereas private patients paid much higher and more lucrative fees.

Progressive industrialisation soon showed up the weaknesses of the scheme. Only about one person in five was insured: the breadwinner but not his family.

Besides, there were well over 22,000



different approved societies administering the health insurance scheme.

During the First World War and the recession that followed it most of these societies went bankrupt, whereupon the entire health insurance system was reorganised and standardised.

Salary-earners (white-collar, as opposed to blue-collar workers) had a separate insurance scheme of their own from 1911. They laid claim to a status midway between that of the workers and the management.

Low-income salary-earners were compulsorily insured, but higher income brackets were allowed to choose between voluntary insurance and opting out.

In 1934 unemployment insurance was introduced as a separate scheme.

After the Second World War the welfare state provisions were introduced in Basic Law, the 1949 constitution.

Individuals and groups not previously insured were gradually included in the scope of the system, while private insurance schemes were steadily improved.

Two crucial improvements in the post-war period have been regular increases in pensions and allowances, and the introduction of new nuclear power stations were to be built between the Alps and the North Sea.

German manufacturers were also aiming to build mini-nukes (power plants, not warheads) to help the developing countries to boost living stand-

ards.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 15 November 1981)

Arithmetic of entire system reveals growing problems



Its economic consequences is the failure to comply with immediate and long-term requirements that would ensure economic survival.

The talk is all of Operation '82 and its current rearward actions.

Since the summer theatricals in Bonn last August so many promises have been broken that people have increasingly lost faith in the willingness or ability of political leaders.

Talk of a major turning point has not been followed by action, thereby missing an opportunity that could have accomplished so much more than any pump-priming exercise.

The shortcomings in the economic sector are, for the most part, that Operation '82 has done justice to neither the immediate cyclical nor the long-term structural tasks the country faces.

The increase in unemployment insurance contributions leads to an additional burden on company profits imposed by wage costs that bear no relation to the trading position.

It is bound to affect the climate of economic investment, especially as this additional cost factor is bound not to be

taken into account in the forthcoming round of wage talks.

A first, albeit hesitant step in the right direction is the proposal to change the basis on which unemployment benefit is assessed.

It could just make people drawing benefit keener to resume employment.

Viewed jointly with the higher unemployment insurance contribution it might even exert psychological pressure to end abuse of the system by a few shirkers.

There are no legal objections to Bonn pocketing the Bundesbank's annual profits. This is the usual practice in other countries too.

Difficulties arise when one considers where the money is to be spent. It will neither be used for debt servicing nor to reduce the amount needed in new loans.

It will not even be used to boost government investment, which has been curtailed heavily in recent years. The construction industry, where so many companies are going to the wall these days, could well have done with an increase in public spending.

In the foreseeable future investment in the private sector is sure to be strictly limited.

The longer-term monetary consequences of this payout of Bundesbank profits seem likely to further limit

investment potential in the private sector.

This is because the profits are being used to pay high interest rates, which will tend to be perpetuated to maintain this source of revenue even though high interest rates are, generally speaking, an investment disincentive.

This will particularly apply to small companies, for which lower capital costs and higher interest rates have essential consequences.

Yet investment is essential to the care of the future, and it will only be undertaken in an atmosphere of confidence.

Operation '82 may have largely failed to consolidate Bonn government finances, but prospects for the future must at least be made to appear credible.

There must be greater political transparency, an improvement in financial conditions and a reduction in the confidence shortfall.

There is no call for drastic measures as there is no such thing as a free lunch. But it is realistic at least to expect a policy of providing for the future.

In other words, what is needed is a policy of providing for the future, a policy of ensuring economic development, a policy of providing for the future.

If leeway can be gained in the matter of course.

F. Wilhelm (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 15 November 1981)

ENERGY

Nuclear power stations: more, more and still more

pression if the industrialised world refused to sell them the latest technology in nuclear power.

So Herr Barthelt said his company, which manufactures power reactors, had no plans to sell developing countries watered-down nuclear technology.

What he expected was that KWU would be designing sturdy plant and equipment that would give Third World operators the least possible trouble.

In central Europe and the United States nuclear power stations with an installed unit capacity of 1,200 megawatts were now the rule.

They were unsuitable for developing countries that lacked the power grid to relay so much electricity to consumers. So KWU was now designing smaller units of between 200 and 400 megawatts.

"We already have more clients interested in this category of nuclear power station than there are countries capable of paying for them," said Herr Barthelt.

Even a small nuclear power station will not cost less than DM1bn, and of the couple of dozen developing countries (out of a total of roughly 130) in a position to benefit from a nuclear power station of this kind, only a handful can afford one.

The KWU board chairman said a major nuclear power station saved so much oil per annum (or made it available for sale to the developing world) that it was an aid factor worth considering.

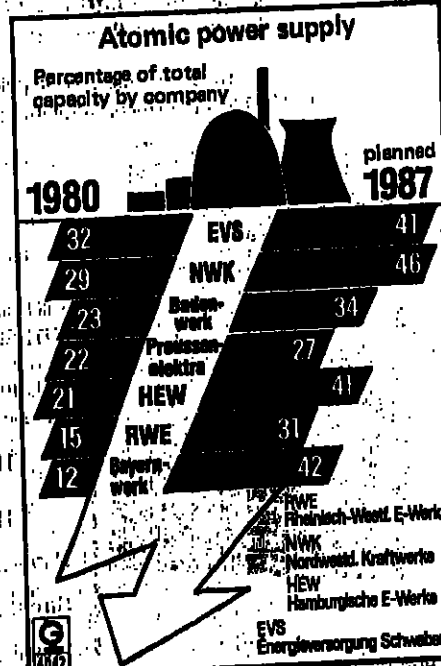
In building and exporting nuclear power stations the Federal Republic of Germany would thus be providing development aid in more ways than one.

Holger Börner, Hesse's busy Premier, was in favour of the idea in principle. "I feel growth is essential," he said, "and it presupposes a secure energy basis."

This security could not be ensured without nuclear power, which did not mean atomic energy alone must be developed, of course.

He was not prepared to say whether he favoured accelerating planning procedures in the latest stage of the Bonn government's energy development programme.

"I am not in favour of going in for anything at full tilt; it does not tend to improve matters," he said. "But I don't hold with going short on safety either."



and certainly not where atomic energy is concerned."

So Herr Börner neatly avoided a clear commitment for or against the wish of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) and other major power utilities to build more domestic nuclear power stations.

The utilities would like to build entire rows of nuclear power stations, starting with five 1,300-megawatt units.

"The French are already building reactors in ruins," said Franz Joseph Spalthoff of the RWE board, "faster and less expensively than we are."

He and the advocates of nuclear power envisage a string of new units the length of the country, from Lingen via Hamm, Biblis, Neckar-Westheim and Isar to Wyl.

Applications have been in the pipeline for six years. They now hope the safety of all these reactors will be checked by a single agency, the Bavarian safety inspectorate, and construction work can get under way by the year after next at the latest.

Argument for fast breeder reactor

Herr Spalthoff envisaged an even more far-reaching step. By the end of the decade, he said, a decision ought to be taken on the construction of a first full-scale German fast breeder reactor.

He was able to cite international forecasts in support of his claim that breeder reactors would prove indispensable. Professor Häfele had said they would be needed from the turn of the century.

It was of more immediate importance to ensure that the fast breeder research project in Kalkar, near the Dutch border, was assured of funds next year.

Yet the power utilities in the south of Germany were under strict instructions from their supervisory boards not to chip in. These instructions were politically motivated, he claimed.

Heinz Kluncker, the trade union leader, was equally categorical and unequivocal in his support for another project beset by difficulties, a plant to reprocess spent nuclear fuel rods.

He was initially only willing to approve a pilot project of the kind Hesse is prepared to house, and Herr Kluncker stressed that a wide base of support, a consensus, must be established in favour of the idea.

Herr Börner clearly had every intention of ensuring there was a consensus before his state administration would give the go-ahead to build a reprocessing plant.

He planned to hold a parliamentary hearing before embarking on planning procedures. This would be similar to the hearing held by Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht on the Gorleben project in Hanover in 1979.

At the end of the Hanover hearing Herr Albrecht announced that plans for a reprocessing plant in Gorleben were, politically speaking, stone dead.

Dieter Tusch (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 November 1981)

Bonn set on easing atom planning

RHEINISCHE POST

More nuclear power stations must be built to meet the growing demand for energy, the Bonn government has decided in its latest energy programme.

There are industrial policy reasons why atomic energy must make a large contribution towards electric power output, the policy document says.

Nuclear development must be seen in an overall economic context and neither nuclear power's current share of output nor the time it took to get planning permission for nuclear power stations and built them were in keeping with energy or industrial policy considerations.

Bonn is determined to simplify, standardise and speed up planning procedures. The emphasis will be on ruling out further public hearings on changes to existing nuclear power stations or units already in the planning pipeline.

Talks on speeding up procedures have already been completed with the Linder and with the industry. Agreements reached are now to be implemented as soon as possible.

Bonn is also keen to ensure further development of high safety standards in nuclear power station construction and swift implementation of the nuclear waste disposal programme.

Given the uncertainty of world affairs in connection with energy demand forecasts, the government does not intend to go firm on specific figures.

Surveys by the German Economic Research Institute (DIW), Berlin, the energy department of Cologne University and the Rheinisch-Westphalian Economic Research Institute, Essen, are nonetheless felt to be plausible estimates.

They all expect coal, oil and other energy resources each to account for about a third of power supplies by the mid-90s.

Their surveys were all commissioned by the Bonn government but undertaken independently.

Primary energy consumption is expected to increase by only 1 to 1.4 per cent between 1978 and 1995. This forecast is based on the assumption that GNP growth rates will be from 2.2 to 3.4 per cent in real terms.

Oil's share of energy consumption is expected to decline from 52.3 per cent in 1978 (and 47.6 per cent last year) to 34 per cent in 1995.

At the same time atomic energy's share of power output is slated to increase from three per cent in 1978 to 17 per cent in 1995.

This again assumes that at least 17,000 megawatts of extra installed nuclear power station capacity will be built.

If this proves impossible the forecast is that the price of electricity will increase, as will the demand for alternative fuels and difficulties in building alternative power station capacity in time to cater for demand.

Coal's share in meeting energy requirements is expected to increase from 17.8 to 22 per cent, whereas gas will roughly hold its own in percentage terms at 16.

Hans-Henrich Zehn (Rheinische Post, 5 November 1981)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Trying to make the inner city come to life again

Twenty-one European countries are competing in a Council of Europe drive on urban renewal that is to end with a full-scale conference in Berlin early next year.

Five German cities have been entered, including a Karlsruhe suburb, Ettlingen and Burghausen.

Ettlingen, near Karlsruhe, is a medium-sized town where much of the rebuilding has been the work of private enterprise. Burghausen is a historic small town in Upper Bavaria.

All three, the city, the medium-sized town and the small town, have sought in different ways to counteract inner suburb decay and make town life desirable again.

The Karlsruhe suburb is still known as Dörfle, or the village it once was, even though it consists mainly of six- to eight-storey tenement blocks.

There can be no mistaking the mark the bulldozers have made on the area. Nine hundred new apartments have been built and 3,000 people rehoused in the first stage of redevelopment.

Housing on small lots that was in bad shape, with poor plumbing, has been replaced by attractive town apartment blocks, but by and large the new residents are newcomers to the area.

The first overall development plan, drawn up in the 60s, envisaged high-rise blocks reminiscent of the Manhattan skyline, but they never left the drawing-board.

After years of dispute over development proposals and a subsequent planning competition Karlsruhe managed, by the skin of its teeth, to avoid having the entire atmosphere of the city ruined.

In the mid-70s a rethink began. The aim was no longer to raise entire districts to the ground but to refurbish existing property that was in good shape. Priority was given to maintaining architectural substance, and in the Dörfle district this has been done wherever possible.

Over a 16-hectare (40-acre) area two-thirds have been slum-cleared and the remainder modernised.

New blocks have been built to a uniform height, and green and quiet courtyards make them a pleasure to live in.

The exterior of new buildings has been designed to harmonise with the general appearance of urban architecture in Karlsruhe too.

In nearby Ettlingen, population 36,000, rebuilding the town centre presented fewer problems even though it did not have the DM100m-plus the Federal and state governments have invested in the Karlsruhe project over a 10-year period.

Ettlingen is an example of how, with skilful town planning, private invest-

ment exceeding DM120m can be promoted at little cost to the taxpayer.

The amount so far invested by the municipality has been a mere DM4m, which is roughly what it costs to build a small gym nowadays.

Yet Ettlingen has preserved its mediaeval character without coming to look more like a museum than a living community. It is a confusing pattern of narrow streets that have been pedestrian precincts for centuries.

Very sparing use has been made of concrete, glass and steel. Residents were consulted at an early stage in the planning — and not just the public in general but people directly affected, such as the old-age pensioner, the milkman and so on.

Burgomaster Erwin Vetter says the town has developed a new awareness of itself as an entity that would make short shrift of plans to change the face of Ettlingen by building, say, a department store that did not fit into the pattern.

The town has consistently opposed plans to set up shopping centres on the outskirts: Ettlingen town centre was to remain the focal point of local life.

None of the 1,000 residents of the redeveloped area has been forced to move out — neither by the planners nor by high rents in the new apartments.

Shops, offices and housing have been combined to ensure reasonable rents.

This mixture has been sustained consistently that families even live in the Rathaus, or town hall.

Powers of planning permission were not exercised to ensure that units were in the required design (mainly half-timbered).

Instead, the municipality bought the plots that were earmarked for development, planned the projects and sold them.

In Burghausen, on the border between Bavaria and Austria, the Altstadt, or mediaeval town centre, looked like this 100 years ago.

Young people and shops moved to the Neustadt, or new town, where there was no shortage of parking lots and cellars and ground floors of the buildings were not flooded every year.

At the same time, the renowned Schopenhauer Archives of Frankfurt's University Library, opened an exhibition and organised a series of lectures.

Director Klaus Dieter Lehmann underscored Schopenhauer's great importance and his timelessness, which, he said, was more evident than ever before.

Schopenhauer's works have been translated into 24 languages, and now he is to be coming at us from the past.

He was the first to break with the optimism in philosophy. It was his saying that "we are condemned to suffering."

What he is what he ought not to be. His personal history is a history of suffering.

His "sad realisation" also engendered a "towards the fellow suffering" solidarity in misfortune.

Wagner found his ideas about music confirmed by Schopenhauer and adopted the philosopher's "metaphysics of will."

Wagner, Gregor-Dellin told the congress, was happy to be able to admit to himself at last that the world was evil.

Tristan and Isolde seek deliverance in death from the inanity of the world. In his Parsifal, Wagner comes very close to Schopenhauer's ascetic solution.

PHILOSOPHY

Friends of Schopenhauer gather in suffering

characterised the world as a "mutual erotic deception."

The life of Man's impostor, Felix Krull, rests on lies and deception — but then, life would be insufferable without illusions.

It is here that Thomas Mann's art comes into its own. Thomas Buddenbrook is a typical "hero of weakness" along Schopenhauer lines and a prime example of Thomas Mann's "pessimistic humanism."

Musicians were perhaps even more influenced by Schopenhauer. In fact, no other philosopher is as revered by them.

Music is more direct than language in conveying the "will" and true conditions in the world.

Martin Gregor-Dellin, Munich, drew attention to Schopenhauer's maxim that "music is the melody and the world the text."

Wagner found his ideas about music confirmed by Schopenhauer and adopted the philosopher's "metaphysics of will."

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War is the continuation of politics by other means. There is hardly another imaginable maxim whose practical implications are more far-reaching than this tenet of the military writer Carl von Clausewitz.

For this reason and because of the ever present threat of war, the thesis of the famous Prussian reformer has become the most quoted and discussed axiom among historians, politicians and the military.

The 150th anniversary, on 16 November, of the death of the author of *On War* falls in a time in which war — once the "sport of kings" — is only discussed in terms of ways and means of preventing it due to the mass destruction potential of modern weapons.

In some quarters the anniversary will raise the question as to the lasting significance and timeliness of the German military theoretician.

The objection to the Clausewitz formula in today's world is that a nuclear war can no longer be seen as the continuation of politics by other means.

And it is true that Clausewitz's book on war and warfare does not consider the possibility of eliminating all nations. For him, a war was decided by destroying the enemy's armed forces.

But the objection could be countered with the argument that the Clausewitz formula is timely because, after the orgies of violence in two world wars, politics must naturally be given priority in the sense meant by Clausewitz; and war must remain politics "lest it become pointless and devoid of meaning," as he himself put it.

The enormous growth of the destructive potential has given rise to a spirit of moderation because today the threat takes the place of action, and the deterrent that of decision.

But this, in turn, could be countered with the question: if the threat serves no other purpose than to prevent its im-

Objection to the Clausewitz formula



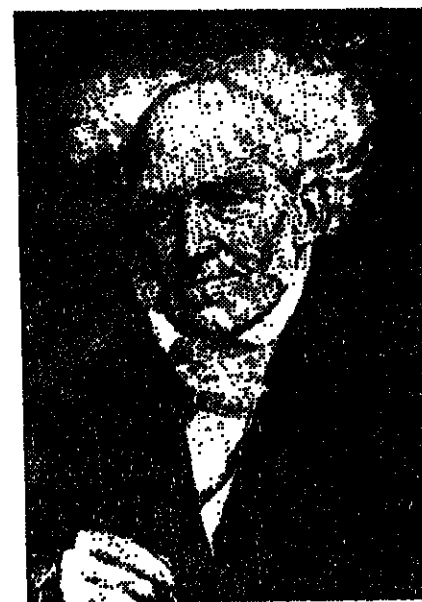
Carl von Clausewitz... often quoted

plementation, does that not amount to the paradoxical question as to whether it is possible to live for ever on credit?

Many an interpreter of Clausewitz, for whom military considerations were subordinate to political reason, will naturally say: What should we pin our hopes on if not on reason?

It indeed appears to be the paradox of our era that the very possibility of mass destruction — even without an explicit threat — curtails the actual use of violence.

In retrospect, it can certainly be said that events of the past 150 years would have been less dominated by purely mil-



Schopenhauer... set a vogue

(Photos: Historia)

at the congress: businessmen, doctors and lawyers who loved their philosopher because he was so close to life and lucid.

At the end of the congress, the Society's president, Arthur Hübscher, who is now almost 85, presented "his legacy": The Schopenhauer Society is to continue as a "free circle of friends" based in Frankfurt and generously supported by the city.

To study and disseminate Schopenhauer's philosophy, he said, can play a part in bringing more humanity to an inhuman world.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Rheinische Post, 6 November 1981)

lilitary considerations if politicians in general had abided by the Clausewitz formula.

A German general, Ewald Heinrich von Kleist-Schmenzin, said after the Second World War that the Clausewitz axiom to the effect that political factors are more important than military ones was too little heeded by the Germans in particular.

"The Germans made the mistake of thinking that political problems can be solved by military success. Under the Nazis, we were about to reverse the Clausewitz formula and view peace as a continuation of war."

Curiously, it is the military in particular who differ widely in their interpretations of Clausewitz's works. But this might be due to the fact that *On War* is ambiguous in some places.

Even 100 years after his death, the Clausewitz assessment of the difficulties in conquering Russia proved correct.

He said that Russia was not a country that could be conquered in "formal terms" and that it could only be defeated through internal strife.

Napoleon foundered in 1812 because, according to Clausewitz, "the enemy government remained firm and the people loyal."

Hitler did not even attempt to make use of the rudiments of internal disunity that had been caused by Stalinist repression.

Clausewitz's most important function in this century was that of the man who played a major role in shaping the Marxist-Leninist theory of war.

This is highlighted by the notes Lenin made on reading *On War*. They show that he studied this classic only in the light of his foremost objective: the proletarian world revolution.

Rudolf Grimm/dpa

(Menschheit/Morgen, 12 November 1981)

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One standard edition of the *Nibelungenlied*, 27x31 centimetres in format, is eight centimetres thick and weighs four kilograms.

Meticulously edited, it includes the three main manuscripts of the mediaeval epic and copious notes on textual variations.

But that is a mere drop in the ocean compared with the tons of secondary literature written mainly by specialists in Germanic studies to interpret it.

Writers who want to make any impact on this mountain in print must do more than add a few pieces to the mosaic; little short of an avalanche will hit the headlines.

Heinz Ritter, a local historian from Schaumburg, near Rinteln, says the experts have got the story all wrong. Schaumburg borders on Westphalia and it was there, he says, and not in Hungary that the Nibelungs met their doom.

This claim brings to mind the scores of retired teachers in days gone by who spent their declining years trying to prove that the battle in which Arminius defeated the Roman legions of Emperor Augustus took place in their back garden.

In Ritter's case the idea may be less fanciful. Roswitha Wisniewski, a professor of mediaeval German literature at Heidelberg University, feels his work merits serious consideration.

Die Nibelungen zogen nordwärts (The Nibelungs Headed North), his latest book, outlines the results of 20 years of research into the subject.

His aim is merely to identify the historical facts on which the tale is based, but if his theory gains general acceptance current assumptions on how the legend was built up might need revising.

The *Nibelungenlied* is by no means the only mediaeval epic to tell the tale of the Nibelungs. It was put to paper in about 1200, but the story is generally agreed to date back to the post-Roman migration era of the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

The unknown author of the *Nibelungenlied* combined two sagas of Franconian origin which, the experts are convinced, had led a separate existence for centuries.

They were the *Brünhildlied* and the *Burgundensage*. Views differ on whether the former was based on historical events, arguably at the court of the Merovingian kings.

It tells the tale of Siegfried and how he swaps roles to win the proud Brünhilde from King Gunther and how, when the deception comes to light, he is murdered by the king and his brothers.

The latter tells how Kriemhild, Siegfried's widow, marries a King Etzel, who is generally taken to be Attila the Hun, and entices her brothers to visit his court, where they are slaughtered to avenge her late husband.

The *Burgundensage* need not be taken literally. Attila died in 453, whereas Dietrich von Bern, or Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, who is portrayed as living at Attila's court, was not born until three years later.

The saga is generally assumed to be an artistic combination of the defeat of the Burgundians and the death of their king, Gundahar, at the hands of the Huns in 436 and the death of Attila on his wedding night.

Attila died, probably of a burst blood vessel, in the night after his wedding to Hildico, a German princess, and the two tales are felt to have been interwoven.

Versions of both sagas have been handed down since the ninth century, so the *Nibelungenlied* can be seen to have evolved in a variety of complicated ways.

Motives and characteristics continually

■ HERITAGE

Historians 'wrong' about doom of the Nibelungs

change, especially where Kriemhild, Hagen and Attila are concerned.

Initially it was Attila who was keen to set hands on the treasure of the Nibelungs and cunningly invited them to visit him and Kriemhild who avenged their death.

In the *Nibelungenlied* Kriemhild is portrayed as a veritable Satan who persuades Attila to wage war and is generally prepared to commit any misdeed.

Versions of the saga that go along these lines have only been preserved in Scandinavian or Icelandic guise. Their Central and Western European counterparts no longer exist.

In thirteenth-century Scandinavia heroic epics of old were particularly popular. In about 1250 the *Thidrekssaga* was compiled in Norway. It is a collection of tales about Dietrich von Bern (or Theodoric of Verona).

It includes, retold at intervals in the narrative, the same tale as the one told in the *Nibelungenlied*, but on a much more modest scale.

The Nibelungs are called Niflungs. They set out with 1,000 men, and not



Hagen statue in Worms . . . new ideas about the Nibelungs. (Photo: Hietoria)

10,000, as in the *Nibelungenlied*. Their target is not Hungary, the land of the Huns, but Soest, a town in Westphalia.

Their subsequent adversary is not Attila, lord of the Huns, but Attila, the son of a Frisian chieftain.

Experts are not wholly agreed on the origins of the *Thidrekssaga*. Some say both are based on the same source, a twelfth-century tale that has not survived.

Others feel the *Thidrekssaga* is a shorter version of the *Nibelungenlied*, transposed to fit into a Low German background.

In the saga the tale of the fall of the Nibelungs is said to have been told uniformly and independently by German travellers from Soest, Bremen and Münster.

Between them they had related the



story as they had learnt it from old songs in German.

Heinz Ritter's idea is that the *Thidrekssaga* faithfully retells what happened in sixth-century Westphalia, whereas the *Nibelungenlied* mistakenly takes the Niflungs to be the Burgundians.

In reality, he claims, the Nibelungs did not reside in Worms. They never crossed the Danube into the land of the Huns. They never fought Attila.

His argument is based on a remarkable discovery. On their way to the land of the Huns, the saga says, the Niflungs passed a point where the Duna flowed into the Rin, in other words, the confluence of the Rhine and the Danube.

Geographically the two rivers never meet, whereas Ritter has shown that until 1840 a river Dhün flowed into the Rhine north of Leverkusen, near Cologne.

The Dhün was then rerouted into the Wupper. If this part of the original tale makes sense after all, Ritter argues, the rest is worth taking another look at.

He set out on a voyage of discovery backed financially by the North Rhine-Westphalian Ministry of Science and Research. He compared names, checked distances and estimated times.

His conclusion is that the Nibelungs' castle must have been in Virmich, near Zölzich, in the northern Eifel hills. Their name is derived from a river, the Neffel.

Bechelaren Castle, called Bakalar in the *Thidrekssaga*, where Margrave Rüdiger lives is Burg Berge, near Altenburg in the Bergisches Land district.

Both of these places are not far from Bonn.

King Thidrek, who lives in exile with Attila, is, at least as far as the section on the Nibelungs' catastrophe is concerned, not Theodoric the Great but the exiled king of an empire near Bonn.

Bonn was known until the Middle Ages as Bern, or Verone.

Ritter has even unearthed archaeological evidence in support of his theory. Graves have been found both in Zölzich and in Soest that prove both places to have been power centres in the post-Roman migration period.

In Soest there is the grave of a woman whose costly jewels include a brooch with a runic inscription that could, with a little good will, be read as Attila.

Could it be a parting gift from Attila to Kriemhild after he had had her executed as the instigator of the entire catastrophe?

The final episode of the *Thidrekssaga* does not occur in the *Nibelungenlied*. It tells how Hagen sires a son on the eve of his death who avenges the Nibelungs.

He is bequeathed by Hagen the keys to Siegfried's cellar where the treasure of the Nibelungs is kept. He entices the avaricious Attila to go down into the cellar, locks him in and leaves him to die of hunger.

In 1926, in a rock cave 15 miles from Soest, the remains of a man who had died without being buried were disco-

vered. They may well have dated from the period in question.

Traces of a counterfeiter's work dating back to the days of the 10th Century War were also found. Was Nibelungs' treasure discovered and ten down alongside Attila's corpse?

It remains to be seen whether the reports will take Ritter seriously enough to consider his theory more carefully. No coincidence that Professor Niewski has called on them to do so.

She was a student of the Nibelung specialist Helmut de Boor. In her of the sources of the epic, entitled *Das Nibelungenlied als Niflungensaga*, she tries to prove the saga drew on a source it did not share with the *Nibelungenlied*.

For anyone who is interested in the logical jigsaw puzzles she tells an ongoing story. It is that this other source, a teacher at Christian Wirth school, a teacher at Christian Wirth school (comprehensive) in Uslar.

Ritter points out that there is a dish version of the *Thidrekssaga* in the Norwegian one. It is a story that has in the past been dismissed as a late copy of the Norwegian version.

Ritter points out that some of the Norwegian version was officially part of the system but the response has been so favourable that it is encouraging her teenage pupils to deal with urban renewal. Frau Erbstößer decided on the spur of the moment that she should take the children to town and show them what real life was all about.

30 boys and girls were looking at a 10th-century townhouse when a lady emerged to sweep the steps. He walked over and asked the teacher whether they wanted to see inside.

Frau Erbstößer jumped at the opportunity. The old lady — it turned out that she was 86 and owned the house — had a fountain of information.

Back in Uslar, the class wrote a letter to you, and asked her whether she would become an "honorary class mother". The idea was that she would attend class from time to time to answer questions.

The old lady, Gertrud Rösler-Erhardt, replied.

The first topic of discussion was the school in the old days and was meant to be part of the history lesson, which was dismissed by Bismarck.

The name may simply have been used to convey an impression of accuracy, personalise a myth. That may be the characteristics of people who names recur continually change.

This does not, of course, rule out the possibility of one or other of the legends that have survived being based on a historic occurrence.

People in the Middle Ages did not draw a clear distinction between fact and fiction. The writer of the *Nibelungenlied* will have had no intention of writing a history textbook.

All he will have had in mind was to tell tales dating back to the post-Roman migration period in a manner suitable for his contemporaries.

It remains to be seen how true the story of the *Thidrekssaga* too.

The Nibelungs' journey from Worms to Eastergom via Pöchlarn and Vienna must not become a characteristic of secondary school students, says Grawow.

A study prepared by a research team at Dortmund University shows that students, parents, teachers and the business community are greatly interested in such training.

But those who took part in such training showed signs of disappointment at the end of it. The firms that undertook to train students felt that they were left to fend for themselves and the students themselves spoke of lack of work (25 per cent).

The survey also showed shortcomings in the implementation and evaluation of the courses by both schools and companies.

Continued on page 12

EDUCATION

Grandpa tells it as it happened

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Most school teachers are trying to bring history to life for pupils by telling grandparents to talk in the classroom.

The idea is the brainchild of Elizza Erbstößer, a teacher at Christian Wirth school (comprehensive) in Uslar.

Encouraging her teenage pupils to deal with their grandparents to come to school and talk about specific events.

The idea has attracted nation-wide attention and has in the past been dismissed as a late copy of the Norwegian version.

Ritter points out that some of the Norwegian version was officially part of the system but the response has been so favourable that it is encouraging her teenage pupils to deal with urban renewal. Frau Erbstößer decided on the spur of the moment that she should take the children to town and show them what real life was all about.

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But those who took part in such training showed signs of disappointment at the end of it. The firms that undertook to train students felt that they were left to fend for themselves and the students themselves spoke of lack of work (25 per cent).

The survey also showed shortcomings in the implementation and evaluation of the courses by both schools and companies.

In the meantime, word about the new approach spread among the parents and one day, when Frau Rösler-Erhardt was in class again, she found to her delight that there were 22 other grandparents willing to relate some of their accumulated wealth of knowledge and experience.

The students were told that, until the outbreak of World War I, priests could draw up school curricula as they saw fit.

They were told about cane-wielding teachers who inspected fingernails and punished those who did not come up to scratch by caning them on the hand. They also learned of the long autumn holidays so the children help harvest potatoes.

"And you put up with it?" the children wanted to know. The answer from the old people was: "You can hardly imagine how things were back in those days."

The idea behind the project is that children should be able to imagine how it was.

The next topic on the agenda was World War I, when the grandparents told the class how they had to struggle for food and how the war changed an entire way of life.

Just before Christmas, the class will deal with the Weimar Republic and the grandparents will be asked to tell the children how they coped with the economic crisis then.

Elizza Erbstößer: "We'll deal with such specific things as what people ate at Christmas, what presents they gave, whether special poems were recited and how the people coped with inflation."

The grandmothers will bake old-fashioned Christmas biscuits while the grandfathers will describe how they decorated the home.

The subject scheduled for January is the Third Reich.

Just before the children are due to graduate, the parents will also be invited to enable three generations to discuss the effects the programme has had on the students' appreciation of history.

Elizza Erbstößer is confident: "The children have come to realise that history is not something abstract but involves lives and destinies. They no longer yawn."

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 November 1981)

More practical training urged

The companies complained that they were given no advice on what exactly to do with the students during the three or four weeks of on-the-job training.

Only 22 per cent of the respondents among the business community had training schedules, of which 62 per cent were devised by the companies themselves.

The biggest shortcoming, however, lay in the fact that most students were inadequately prepared for such practical work.

Sixty-nine per cent of the respondents in the business community complained about the students' lack of knowledge about the various occupations and 65 per cent deplored the lack of familiarity with safety regulations.

Another major shortcoming was that

Opinions vary on role of the teacher

Parents and teachers see eye to eye on most issues. But not on what should be a teacher's most important function, according to a study prepared by the Institute for Teacher Training in Mainz.

The survey involved 296 teachers at 12 Rhineland-Palatinate schools and 5,673 parents.

"What do you consider a particularly important function of the teacher?" was one of the questions. Three answers were possible: Conveying knowledge and skills; helping develop the personality; or accurate assessment of a child's performance.

Close to 60 per cent of the teachers ticked "helping develop the personality". "Accurate assessment" was the least important (10 per cent).

The parents' answers were exactly the opposite: 41.1 per cent ticked "Accurate assessment". "Helping develop the personality" was at the bottom with 15 per cent.

A similar difference became evident with the question as to the most important qualities of a teacher where there were 19 possible answers to choose from.

The most prevalent answer among teachers was "teaching ability" while the parents again opted for "justice"; though in this case, justice ranked second with the teachers.

The study concludes that there is a "conflict of roles between teachers and

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should be a little ashamed of themselves.

While they have studied the sources and the vocabulary and examined the *Nibelungenlied* in all manner of ways, including computer concordances, one man, an amateur, has shown the courage of his convictions, spent 20 years studying the subject in his own way and come up with some really new ideas.

Ekkehard Böhm
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 November 1981)

most teachers were unfamiliar with the realities of work in a business enterprise because they themselves had no first hand experience of it.

But despite all these complaints, very few of those concerned would like to drop on-the-job training: 79 per cent of the parents, 87 per cent of current and 60 per cent of former *Hauptschule* students even asked for longer practical training courses.

Ninety-three per cent of the students rejected any scrapping or shortening of the courses.

The value of such training is demonstrated by the fact that parents and former students say that on-the-job experience ranks second only to instruction in mathematics and German. They consider on-the-job training as an important element of preparation for a working life.

In addition, practical training plays an important role in finding a job.

A further survey shows that every other trainee winds up with a permanent job at the company that trained him.

A. Pieper
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 11 November 1981)

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One interesting aspect that transpired was that 58 per cent of the parents who wanted to have an active part in the upbringing of their children rather than leaving it to the school belonged to the working class.

(Die Welt, 6 November 1981)

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(Die Welt, 6 November 1981)

Purging fears through painting

Children can rid themselves of their conscious and unconscious fears by expressing them in paintings and drawings.

Those who are denied an opportunity to express themselves can harm not only themselves, but their environment as well, says Hanna Over, 36, who has opened northern Germany's first studio for expressive painting.

All children should be given an opportunity to express themselves pictorially, she says.

The child sees the painting studio as "a room sealed off from the rest of the world, a protective cave, so to speak," says Frau Over.

The studio enables the children to enjoy what they are doing undisturbed by outside influences.

The idea of expressive painting was first evolved by the Frenchman Arno Stern, who, after the Second World War, took meandering children to his studio and made them paint and express themselves as a way of mastering the chaos and destruction of the war and post-war years.

Hanna Over herself became a student of Stern disciple Bettina Eggers in whose Zurich studio she did a two-year training course.

Frau Over, herself the mother of three children, does not interfere with her charges' flow of expression. She does not tell them what they should paint but only asks them what they would like to put on paper.

In this way, the children learn to pick their own subjects. Once a picture is finished, Frau Over does not evaluate it because any praise or criticism would only hamper free expression and possibly make the child seek the teacher's praise.

"I rejoice in the children's work along with them instead of smothering them with praise," says Frau Over.

Each child's paintings are collected in a special folder "as a protection for the child" because the pictures are part of the child itself and should therefore not be put up on walls by the parents.

Frau Over also refuses to interpret the pictures. She will never ask a child "what are you painting?"

Children are unable to express in words what flows pictorially.

Adults frequently regard children's paintings as worthless because the child is unable to lecture coherently on his works.

But if adults themselves were to take up painting they would soon realise that this form of expression is an "adventure."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 November 1981)